EQUAL RIGHTS

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"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Washington, D. C.

Vol. 26, No. 4 APRIL, 1940

"Created Equal"

A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. By Alma Lutz. The John Day Company, New York. $3.

Reviewed by INEZ HAYNES IRWIN

LIKE ALL good biographies, CREATED EQUAL shows a two-fold richness. It reveals and translates the life of its subject. It develops in its background a warm and storied picture of her times. In addition, Miss Lutz has traced the story of the most beautiful friendship that, so far as recorded history shows, has ever existed between a pair of women—and they lived in a period of splendid friendships among women. The only such devotion in the past to compare with it is that of Ruth and Naomi; the only one in the present that of Winifred Holtby and Vera Brittain. The inclusion in this chronicle of the story of a great working alliance is not only as it should be, but as it must be. No one can ever write the life of either of these women without an almost equal consideration of the other.

It would be impossible in the compass of a brief review, even by the process of leaping from high peak of endeavor to higher peak of achievement, to tell the story of a woman like Elizabeth Cady Stanton. But there are certain epochs that one cannot leave out. It was repeated experience, hearing the heartbreaking stories of women clients in her father's law office, plus the realization that—because the law pressed so unjustly on women, there was no remedy for their agonies—that made her a theoretical feminist. It was the determination of the World's Antislavery convention, held in London in 1840, not to admit women delegates that turned her into an active feminist. It was the base betrayal of the women suffragists by the men Abolitionists who, before the Civil War, had espoused their cause, and who, after the War, determined first to enfranchise the negro, that turned her into a militant suffragist. As a theoretical feminist, she helped individual women wherever she could. As an active feminist, she called the first Woman's Rights Convention ever held in the history of the world at Seneca Falls in 1848—the initial engagement in the long fight for equal rights. As a militant feminist, she worked and fought ceaselessly in the equal rights cause as long as she lived.

The varied and picturesque panorama of the life which Miss Lutz paints so vividly fills the reader with a kind of stupefaction. He wonders inevitably from what secret loom of time Elizabeth Stanton wove her forty-eight-hour-long working day, from what bottomless well of energy she pumped her burning vitality. Writing editorials, articles, essays, books, innumerable letters and diaries, collaborating on the monumental *HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE;* attending conventions, presiding at them, making speeches; lecturing for eight months of twelve successive years all over the country; meeting droves of people; fighting for the Bloomer costume; fighting for temperance; fighting for saner property laws and freer divorce laws; fighting for the *WOMAN'S BIBLE* and for a reform in their attitude towards women within all denominations of churches—there are eighty-seven years of hardbitten living and all the maturer ones filled with the guerilla warfare of the woman's rights struggle, its strategic sieges, its open and desperate battle. Somewhere along the line of this tumultuous activity, she became Mrs. Henry Stanton. She bore a large family of children, brought them up and helped earn the money to educate them. She was one of those women who take marriage and maternity in the stride of a tremendous achievement.

Miss Lutz has assembled masses of rainbow material. The great people of the period file in gorgeous procession through it—scores of able men, few of them lacking biographies; scores of able women, most of them lacking biographies. She stops now and then to give an illuminating picture of a scene, to throw in a thumbnail sketch of a character. All the details of Elizabeth Stanton's life, however, come out large and clear against this moving tapestry.

But as will always be true of any book treating of these two women, the reader is most moved by their friendship. The story leaps into another dimension at that instant, on a street corner in Seneca Falls in 1851, when Amelia Bloomer introduced Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony. From here on, history begins to spin and whirl in those two pairs of forthright hands. The two women left no path unexplored, no lead undeveloped, no stone unturned.

They made plenty of mistakes, of course.

It was a mistake—although the method was an enormous credit to their sense of humor—to make an implacable enemy of Horace Greeley. It was a mistake—although an enormous credit to their sense of chivalry—to take up the defense of the notorious Circe, Victoria Woodhull. It was a mistake—although an enormous credit to their courage—to clutter their cause with personal side-issues like the infanticide case of Hester Vaughan, of the California murderess Laura Fair and of that pathetic victim of social injustice Mrs. Daniel McFarland. It was a mistake—although an enormous credit to the breadth of their vision—to carry the extra weight of other reforms like Abolition, temperance and divorce. It was a mistake—and more than a half-century later, Alice Paul was to profit by that mistake—to abandon the woman's rights movement for the duration of the Civil War. But they

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Activities Of New York City Committee

Soroptimist Club of Bronx County—Dinner Meeting. "For They Are All One," A discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment; Speaker, Mrs. Robert Nelson Errington.

Broadcast on the Equal Rights Amendment over Station WBNX by Mary Tobin.

New York City League of Women Voters—10th Assembly District.

Discussion of Equal Rights Amendment—Speakers, Mrs. Robert Nelson Errington, National Woman's Party; Miss Rita Morris, League of Women Voters.

Evening Meeting—The Equal Rights Amendment, home of Mrs. Leslie Black; Speaker, Mrs. Robert N. Errington.

Susan B. Anthony Day Celebration; Mrs. Robert Nelson Errington, Chairman, New York City Committee, Susan B. Anthony Memorial Committee.

Editorial in New York *Times*—February 15.

New York *Sun* interview with Mrs. Errington; column on Susan B. Anthony and National Woman's Party in Sun on February 10.

Article February 14 by Mary Tobin, special writer.

Radio Broadcast over Station WBNX—"Women Pioneers"; Speaker, Mrs. R. N. Errington for National Woman's Party.

Radio Broadcast over Station WNYC—"Susan B. Anthony and Women Pioneers"; Speaker, Mrs. Errington.

Two-column article in Bronx *News*—Wreath Ceremony at Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 15, at 11:30 A. M.; Presiding, Mrs. Errington; Laying of Wreath, Mrs. George B. Mesta.

Evening Meeting—Discussion of Equal Rights Amendment—Speaker Mrs. Errington; Yonkers (N. Y.) League of Women Voters.

Women, We Warn You!

WHAT RIGHT have women to take men's jobs? What right have they to work at all? The questions were propounded by the man from Chicago who had just come to Washington to urge Congress to do its duty to men by sending women back to the kitchen—anybody's kitchen—"where they belong."

Berating women for daring to compete with men for paid jobs, the new arrival let loose the full force of his fury on the National Woman's Party for its advocacy for a "full share in democracy for women."

"We are determined," he said "to give men back their jobs and to put women back in their place." Women, he declared, could find someone to marry them and provide them with necessities "as was intended." The Constitution, he believed to be for the protection of men alone and said that women could look to men for protection, as they had in the past.

Making no bones of the fact that there is a definite campaign for the accomplishment of this questionable, but in his opinion entirely worthy cause, the visitor conceded the right of a woman, unmarried and without support, to hold temporary employment until the matter could be remedied.

He admitted having already discussed the plan with several members of Congress and boasted that women, as holders of jobs, were on their way out.

All this would be of little importance but for the fact that during the past year there was spawned in Chicago a so-called Wage Security Plan, the purpose of which was identical with that outlined by the Chicagoan now in the nation's capital opening an offensive on women.

Women of the United States have dallied too long in securing for their protection a Constitutional guarantee of equal legal rights. At this moment a battery of guns is trained on *all women.* Married women are being used as an opening wedge, but the epidemic will spread if permitted to take root.

It is time for American women to stop quibbling about *methods* of securing equality and to secure it. They should demand that Congress immediately submit to the States for approval the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution safeguarding the principle of equal legal rights. With this Amendment a part of the basic law of the United States, attacks on their right to work *could not* succeed. They would be unconstitutional!

The energies and abilities women now expend in the struggle to attain rights, which for men citizens are not even questioned, would then be released for constructive work. The energies some men expend in trying to drive women out of the labor market as a short cut to a gold mine of jobs, might also be used to some better purpose. Directed in the proper channels this combined force might conceivably work out a plan for the creation of new jobs for those who need them. This would be more in keeping with our democracy.

It is lazy thinking that suggests banditry of women's jobs in order to provide jobs for men. Eliminating women from the economic field would not solve the problem. It would exaggerate it, for it would lower the standard of living and present a more difficult economic tangle than our Nation is prepared to face. If fourteen million working women were deprived of jobs, the support not only of this number, but their dependents as well, would fall upon men. The hands of the clock will not turn back.

Women, we warn you!

To Equalize Immigration Law

Representative Caroline O'Day, Member of Congress from New York, has introduced in the House of Representatives a bill amending the Immigration Law equaling the existing law in its application to men and women.

The law at present permits an immigrant "who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission to the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of carrying on the vocation of minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university; and his wife and unmarried children under eighteen years of age, if accompanying or following to join him."

Mrs. O'Day's amendment seeks to apply the rule equally to men and women.

Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Woman's Party National Chairman, appearing with representatives of a number of organizations at a Committee Hearing on the bill, stated the position of the Party as follows:

"The National Woman's Party, an organization which stands for equality of opportunity for men and women in every phase of life, which was one of the organizations working for the Cable Act of 1922 and which has stood for and worked for subsequent legislation regarding equal nationality rights for men and women, favors legislation which upholds the principle of equality between men and women citizens.

"The National Woman's Party is in favor of equal rights for men and women in nationality and immigration laws. We hope that bill H. R. 8753 will pass the Congress."

Organization Report

Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, of Ohio, Woman's Party Organization Chairman, has just submitted to the National Council an interesting report of activities of her committee for the past year.

Highlights of the report include an account of three weeks' work in Rhode Island resulting in a greatly increased membership; a period of productive work in Georgia, where the cooperation of many organizations was secured by Laura Berrien of that state and Mildred Seydell, noted newspaper columnist. During this period, Mrs. Wolfe reported, Miss Berrien was a guest speaker at the state convention of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs.

She told of intensive work in Delaware and in North Carolina. In the latter, says the report, there was a splendid response among college students. In Delaware Marie Lockwood, state chairman, spoke at a number of meetings, and in North Carolina, Anita Pollitzer, of the National Council made several addresses which were enthusiastically received. Conferences with leaders in Kentucky and Illinois were reported and a trip was made to Michigan, where several successful meetings were held and funds for further organization work were secured.

Mrs. Mary Doyle Heffernan and Mrs. Dan Jones, of Rhode Island, and Mrs. George E. Halsey, of Maryland, were added to the Organization Committee. "Our goal at this time," said Mrs. Wolfe, "is an active organization in the district of every Congressman in the United States, in order that sentiment for the Equal Rights Amendment may be mobilized in the home districts, where it is most effective."

Many states in addition to those mentioned were visited and Mrs. Wolfe was enthusiastic over her findings in regard to what she termed "the rapidly increasing sentiment for the Amendment."

"Created Equal"

(Continued from Front Page)

were the first to realize these errors in judgment. Immediately they acknowledged them, wiped the slate clean and began again.

The great friendship between those two women started as I have said with a casual meeting on a street corner. It ended, as far as this mortal life is concerned, fifty years later when Susan, having received the news of Elizabeth's death, sat for hours alone in her room, gazing numbly at her friend's picture.

It was a magnificent period for women and so it produced magnificent women. Their name is legion. Do not believe because they were reformers, that they were stiff and humorless, that they lacked the juices and ardors of aliveness. Grace Channing Stetson told the present writer that her great father used once a year to invite both the crusaders for woman's rights and for the abolition of slavery to house parties at his home. "How we used to look forward to those gatherings!" she exclaimed. "They were the wittiest people we knew. The stories they told! The house rocked with laughter all the time they were there."

But of all the magnificent women that the era produced—and there were a score of giants among them—Elizabeth and Susan were the most magnificent. Elizabeth was responsible for the inception in this country of the Woman's Rights movement. Susan brought it to within a double decade of its final triumph, Elizabeth was more richly endowed emotionally, more trained intellectually. She was facile, ardent, witty, brilliant, fascinating—more temperamental in short. Susan was cooler, wiser. She had greater concentration, better judgment, longer staying power, the wise patience of an unbreakable resolution. Elizabeth was the Thomas Jefferson of the movement and perhaps, a little, its Benjamin Franklin. Susan was its George Washington—America's greatest woman.

This book tells the amazing life of an amazing woman and it is written with amazing skill. It is another shining milestone in the glowing annals of feminism.

Why Question Only Women?

The much discussed questionnaire issued by the Department of Commerce for use in securing the population census for 1940, groups Questions 48, 49 and 50 under the caption, "For all women who are or have been married." No. 48 reads, "Married more than once? (Yes or No)"; No. 49, "Age at first marriage"; No. 50, "Number of children ever born (exclusive of stillbirths)."

An examination of the entire questionnaire reveals no questions directed to men only. It is surprising that women citizens should be singled out as a separate class. When a woman marries she marries a man. When children are born they are born to parents. When there is a divorce both the husband and wife are divorced. Why then are these three questions directed to women only? The discrimination appears entirely unwarranted, and the questions should either be directed to everyone, or eliminated.

Convention To Vote On 50-50 Proposal

As the result of a resolution adopted by the Democratic National Committee the next Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago July 15 will vote on a proposal that in future each state, district and territory shall name two members, one a man and one a woman, to serve on the Party committee on platform and resolutions.

This would divide Party control equally between men and women and would be in reality 50-50.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

WOMEN AND LABOR UNIONS

I HAVE recently seen some interesting figures showing the percentage of women in labor organizations. According to press reports there are about 4,000,000 paid up workers in the A. F. of L. and about 4,000,000 in the C. I. O. Of this 8,000,000 about 1 in 15 is a woman. At the 1938 Convention of the A. F. of L. 14 of the 477 delegates were women. At the C. I. O. Convention in 1938, a negligible proportion of the 519 delegates were women.

In view of these facts it is highly important that women see the necessity of taking their places in labor unions in much larger numbers. They cannot afford to delegate the looking after their labor interests to men Union members, any more than they could afford to be without the ballot and delegate their interest in the government of their country to men voters. Nor dare they delegate the looking after their interests to philanthropists and social service workers who have been instrumental in passing such hour laws as have recently protected women out of their jobs in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Welfare organizations, financed largely by wealthy men and women, are much more ready to work for so-called protective legislation for women, than to encourage the formation of unions. Much as the employer dislikes Government interference in the form of labor legislation, he dislikes unions more; and as long as labor legislation applies only to women, it leaves available to him plenty of men and boys to replace women workers, if labor laws affecting women became too much of a nuisance.

Labor-union men are not averse to labor legislation for women. It is a chivalrous gesture, to favor seemingly benevolent legislation. And many of them admit that they advocate no night work for women, because they want the more lucrative night jobs.

Women must look after their own interests. They must recognize the menace of labor legislation when it does not apply to men as well as to women, and they must recognize that in the rapid growth of union organization they must play an important part and not let all the power get into the hands of men who in an era of unemployment are eager for their jobs.

Unless women are wide-awake they will find that although they have won political freedom, they will become economically enslaved.

Industrial Council Adopts Resolutions

The Industrial Council of the National Woman's Party met recently at the studio of Mrs. Lloyd Williams in Carnegie Hall, New York. Resolutions adopted were: An expression of appreciation of the statement by Congresswoman Mary T. Norton that she will vote to submit the Equal Rights Amendment to the States; urging all members of Congress to support the Amendment; urging members of Congress to pass Senate Joint Resolution 183, by Senator Burke.

SUNRISE INN
Apartments & Cottages—A Home for the Winter
JAMES H. REARDON, Mgr. PORT SEWALL, FLORIDA

Pearl Buck On The Equal Rights Amendment

I have been thinking a good deal about the Lucretia Mott amendment and the more I think about it the more confirmed I am in my conviction that it is only when a nation's people are governed by laws made for its citizens and not for male and female that men and women can live in mutual happiness with each other and with justice toward each other. When one sex is given discrimination, either favorable or unfavorable, the effect works ill for everyone. If women do not have as a matter of course an unequivocally equal place with men before the law, men suffer with them. A mother cannot train her son in the vigor of free thought and action when she herself does not share completely in that freedom. Something of her sense of inferiority shadows him to weaken him in his own moral fibre or to make him feel falsely superior on that utterly untenable ground for superiority, mere sex. When woman does not share in the life of the nation equally with man, with a mental atmosphere as clear as his, and the right to action no more hampered than man's by discriminatory laws and social attitudes, it means that half the nation and the half which has as its peculiarly important work the bearing of children and their early education, is a depressed group and as such affects the whole.

It is as a mother even more than as a professional worker that I say that I believe the Lucretia Mott amendment is the only self-respecting basis for citizenship in a true democracy.

PEARL S. BUCK.

Representative Ramspeck Urges Vigilance

Representative Robert Ramspeck of Georgia, member of the House Labor Committee, United States Congress, and author of the bill proposing to blanket into Civil Service thousands of Government workers, was the guest speaker at the annual Government Workers' Council Dinner in Washington recently.

The Congressman warned women that their gains are not secure and pointed out the necessity of eternal vigilance to ward off further discriminations.

Because of the proximity of the birthday anniversary of Susan B. Anthony, equal rights pioneer, the occasion featured tributes to the beloved woman leader. Mrs. Kay Cavender, of Philadelphia, impersonated Miss Anthony, and attired in the dress of bygone days, made a Susan B. Anthony speech. The costume was faithfully reproduced even to the famous Susan B. Anthony "little red shawl."

Edwina Austin Avery, chairman, presided. Among the guests were representatives of many other organizations including the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Soroptimists, National Association of Women Lawyers and others.

Terue Otsuki Honored

American friends of Terue Otsuki, Japanese feminist, who has spent much time in this country, will be interested to know that she has been appointed the only woman member of the staff of the newly created Population Problem of Investigation Bureau, Welfare Ministry of Japan.

Miss Otsuki, who is a graduate of Columbia University, spent several months at Alva Belmont House, Woman's Party Headquarters, in 1934. "Since her return from the United States," says *Japanese Women*, official organ of the Woman's Suffrage League of Japan, "she has traveled more or less extensively on the Continent, and in Tokyo she has been a promising worker in the women's movement under the leadership of Miss Fusaye Ichikawa."